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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
[584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
[793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest field of influence and attainment to women. However, history records no mention of any advantage deriving from temple service.

554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their mediæval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole, there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own efforts, and through his eminence his children would consequently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
[556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions created a social and economic stratification. In theory and
[642 421] practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal ownership of productive property was its economic base.[4]

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However, in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

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tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were supported by the community, kept a much better table than the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[13]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Culture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

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CHAPTER VIII

CRAFTSMANSHIP

A consideration of how the Aztecs attained a high degree of skillful craftsmanship with relatively few mechanical aids

CRAFTSMANSHIP allows an exercise of the creative impulse, satisfying the individual through his domination of the raw material. In our modern mechanized age most of us suffer from the lack of opportunity to create, since almost everything we use comes machine-made, and not even the skilled mechanic feels that his ingenuity and craftsmanship alone have produced a useful and attractive object. The ordinary modern floats like Mohammed's coffin, without contact with the earth on which he lives or the universe of which he is an infinitesimal part. The Aztec, however, lived in the most intimate contact with nature in its finite and infinite manifestations. Because his conscious being was set in terms of the group mind, he seldom felt that sensation, common to the Western intellect, of having cut himself from the tree of natural existence with the saw of his own reason.

The home production of articles for daily use gave an impetus to craftsmanship, since wealth and prosperity lay in a man's possessions, not in the abstract ownership of rights to the work of others. Thus a successful man had a well-made house, finely fashioned and decorative clothing, care-

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fully worked utensils and tools and well-tended and productive fields, while an unsuccessful man had a small and miserable equipment. Yet except for the intervention of natural disaster the differential was largely due to the ability of a man and his household to produce with their own hands the symbols of his wealth or to exchange his specialized product for equivalent superior equipment made by others. The entrepreneur and broker had small place in the undertaking of production and its distribution.[1]

The gods also stimulated good craftsmanship. Every home had an altar, and every act was accomplished through the favor of some deity. Ceremonies to appease these custodians of natural force were of frequent occurrence. Thus the use of symbols, referring to the god whose favor was sought, came to exercise an important influence on design. Since a man does reverence with his most esteemed social attitudes and his best material possessions, each household must try to surpass its previous efforts to honor the gods. The temple equipment, therefore, tended to represent the cream of local craftsmanship.

Work in stone, the most durable natural substance available, is a common gauge of human ability. Since the tools last forever, it is possible to compare the technical abilities of peoples over an enormous span of human history. However, for basic equipment like projectile points, axes, grinding stones, and the like, satisfactory forms are reached fairly early and do not change in proportion to cultural advances in other directions. Thus the arrow or the dart points of Aztec times were not technically better than those used by the Middle Culture peoples. However, the technical demands of the sacrificial cult called for a heavy broad-bladed flint

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient [556] disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Los chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrarlles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos María de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los últimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes*," 1826. Parte tercera. (Cap. III, p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, [564] cap. V, p. 482). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49). "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243). "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, [685] p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works — those made of feathers — is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 480, and, with slight variations, also by *Velancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 167 and 168), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

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and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mézique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 58), that the Tlatilaica were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II). and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "puchtecatlailotlac, ó acxôtecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó qué es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 588), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 223, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por si; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos, le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 330–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

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565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily
● 55 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.
565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, *Mr. H. H.* Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 359, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap.
[68] XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or
[618] merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondianle los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Acachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Burtis* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyoinacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now,
[482] even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cada uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

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to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XL, p. 389), sixty pounds.

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 136), who embodies in a few words the statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja han y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrios," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers.

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fasse honrado en el pueblo, y tenido per valiente: ponianle un barbote de ámbar, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un facle*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 233 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonzo de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéhuales*, Mexico, 30 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mérique*," p. 257). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlaltelolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 341) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Burin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 223) "ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("Tezcoco," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 211). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only by the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 534).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 402 and 403).

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel njman amo qualli.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuexcochvivirequj, qujnquatepipiltzinja, in motepeoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonnamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacaxtzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in ootomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivcimatia, qujmavizttiaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in putlaoac, in pitzaoac, xiujtl: auh in jxquich nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli

1. *Xoxouhtli.* — Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jamiltz — Bretonia pinguis L. "En México, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un matorro de adorno y cria hojas semejantes a las de la pita. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica."*

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tlaloc, Matlalcueitl, Xiuhtecuhtli, Yiauhqueme, Coyolinahuatl, Chicomecoatl, Xochiquetzal, Yacatecuhtli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-34, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the pochteca.

3. *Acxotlatl* or *pochtecatlahtoke*, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como el diputado que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los nombres . . . se entienden el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es como padre y madre de todos los mercaderes" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).

Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Abh.*, II, 60): "*aber chichimekischen Volksstamm in der nördlich der Seen von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco.*" Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Nanã Ehecatl, Chicomquiauitl, Xiuhtecuhtli, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatecuhtl (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 338, citing Seler, *Ges. Abh.*, II, 1070: "*Mann aus dem Orte Ouauaxac . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gekonnte Kleie und Markthändler zuweilen als der auf seine Reisen gekonnte Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A.*"

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

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tomatoes, the cylindrical ones;[6] and all the neck bands, and the matted neck bands; and large and small pieces of turquoise; and all the different kinds of feathers — quetzal tail feathers: the well-pointed ones, the well-curved ones, the wide ones, the long ones, which, they said, indeed extended a fathom. And these were just the tail feathers. And those they called down feathers,[7] the very small ones, the chili-green ones and the crest feathers of the quetzal;[8] and feathers of the red spoonbill[9] [*teoquechol*], which is now called *tlauhquechol;* and the blue cotinga, the amethyst-colored ones,[10] the yellow parrot,[11] the multicolored parrot, the trupial,[12] the red and yellow parrot,[13] the scarlet parrot,[14] the blue parrot,[15] the dove; and aquamarine feathers, etc. And skins of wild animals, and mats of wild animal [skins]; and wooden chocolate-beaters; and gourd stoppers.[16]

Verily, all their goods, which lay strewn [and scattered in the tribal quarter] temples[17] they arranged in order and in rows upon precious capes. They sorted, ordered, and disposed them. Then they offered incense and beheaded quail. Of this it was thus said: "They place things in the sun." And when they had placed them in the sun, and when they had offered incense during the day, later,[18]

in vel iaque in vel vitoliuj, in patlaoac, in viiac, in quilhuja cezciacatl içan moteca: auh in çan totocujtlapiltic, ioan in quilhuja quetzaliacatl, in çan tepitoton, in chilchotic, ioan in tzinjtzcan, in teoquechol: in axcan mjtoa tlauhquechol, ioan in xiuhtototl, in aiopal, in toztli, in tozcujcujl, in çaquan, in cochoivitl, in chamolin, in cujtlatezotli, in coçôtli, in xiuhapalli. Etc. ỹoan in tequaneoatl, in tequanpetlatl, auh in aquaujtl, in atzaccaiotl:

in ie mochi intlatquj in teintoc, [ỹ pixauhtoc. yn calpulco] in teucali, tlaçotilmapan qujcentecaia, qujcuecuentiliaia, qujtlatlamantiliaia, qujviujpanaia, qujtetecpanaia, vncan tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia, iehoatl injc mjtoa: tlatotonja, auh in jquac otlatotonjque, in otlenamacaque, cemjlhujtl, catepan tlatlaqualo, aatlioa, mopixtoque, in pochteca veuetque, nepielotoc, tlachichinalotoc, tlanecutoc, tlaaujaxtoc, puctleoatoc,

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6. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, *cap.* viii, fol. 205: *inyc tlatlalili, olohtic, oratic xictic, temaic, chiquinoca, tlachquinahuatli, tlachiquinalli, tlacuxmanalli, tlaxtlacuilolchichiltic*, for which the corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Labrase estas piedras unas redondas y agujeradas, otras largas y rollizas, y agujeradas, otras trianguladas, otras cortadas al sesgo, otras cuadradas.*"

7. Quetzal *nene plug*, in Jones, *loc. cit.*

8. *Tzinitzcan.* Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 2 and 4, describes both the crest of the quetzal and a bird of the same name: *Tzoquemitzcan mexicanus*, 7. *ambiguus* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). In Saler, *Collected Works* (; Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds.; Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. V, p. 2, it is quetzal tail and shoulder feathers of dark green with metallic sheen; in *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 137, a bird with black and green feathers.

9. *Tlauhquechol.* In *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 62, white and red spoonbill; Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 65, red heron; p. 124, red spoonbill; p. 137, rose-colored heron. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 5; *Ajaja ajaja* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 356).

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10. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 9) mentions an *oyoquan* found in mountains about Cuextlan and Michuacan — of painted, black beak and black feathers except those of the tail, which are half-white; another bird of the same name is a woodfowl of yellow beak; feathers at joint of wing are green; long wing and tail feathers are brazzy, with white and green; body feathers are red. *Agamia agami* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 324).

In "L'orfèvrerie des anciens mexicains et leur art de travailler la pierre et de faire des ornements en plumes," Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte-Rendu* de la Huitième Session Tenue à Paris en 1890 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), note to § 68, Eduard Seler translates *oyoqui* as *espece enfumée*, referring to Molina, *op. cit.*, *chiztal amarillo — oyoquiztal.*

11. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Cf. also Sahagún (Garibay ed.), XI, 2, 16; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 210.

12. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3-4, p. 114. *Gymnostinops Montezumae* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 372).

13. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 33. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 371: "*especie de loro, del género Chrysotis.*" *Cuchu ce cuchui* — "*Papagayo rojo y morado.*" *Amazona albifrons albifrons* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 328).

14. *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 2. Cf. also, however, *chamolin* (*chamal*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461: "*Nombre vulgar que en el Estado de Guerrero, en Michoacán, se da al tabardillo o charalcázahuatl.*" *Chamolcihuitl*: Arr., *chamalli* (*pesarito*) — "*tabardillo o flor del camarón* (Poinciana pulcherrima)."

15. Cf. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*

16. Corresponding Spanish text: *empedrados de galapagos para tecomates.*

17. An omission in the *Florentine Codex*, to be noted in comparing the passage with the text of the *Real Palacio* MS, placed in brackets, brings the Nahuatl closer to Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

18. *Catepan*: the suffix is missing in the original.

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior[19] and lived prudently[20] and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, faultfinding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refuting, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.[21] They chattered.[22] Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli mantoc, tlaqualli qujqujztoc, atle monectoc, ichoatl injc mjtoa, ca tlatonaltia, tlatotonja, in puchteca. 441 527 556

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, mocecentlalia in puchteca veuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlaiujntic, vncan qujmopopoaltia, qujmeecaltia, ic mjxmotlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoqujchtiliz, oc cenca ichoatl: in canjn icac imjcxi, qujtoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexqujch ic conmati, in quexqujch imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhtinemj, injc qujlacatzotinemj anaoatl, injc ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, injc atlauhtli quitemovitinemj, in noviian calactinemj, in ovica, in iaotitlan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana impan oalmotzaqua, qujnpoiomjctia, aço ça ce, vme, in tematitlampa qujça, in qujoalcaoa tlatolli, in oalteitoa, iehoan achtopa qujpetla, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli, 441 527 554 521

ic vncan qujquequeloa, ica maujltia, qujtlatlacaqujtia, qujcocoa, qujtotoneoa, qujcocolhuja, qujchichinachilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in çan njcam inextitlan mooqujchitoa, çan njcan tlanqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, çan njcan in motitianquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxiccuj, auh ie vncan in jtoncuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzteoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaoapaoalhoã, injc vel imjtic oaçic intecoco, in teitic aaçic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnaoan, injc vncan in necentlaliaia maaoa, mononotza, moquequeloa, mopâpatla, mopapatzaoa, moquezicçatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, motlatzoujlitoque, moquâquatoque, mjxquâquatoque, motlatolxopeuhtoque, moichoatocatoque, âmotenaqujlmatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatoque, no çac in jzmoquixtia: muchi tlacatl cecentetl itlatol, atle ipan qujmotztilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtil: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoa, cecentecuti, cecenme mo-

19. *Mocopiquichtoc* in the *Real Palacio* MS. *Nicaro*: shown in manuscript.
20. *Mimilcoxcatl* in *loc. cit.*
21. Possibly *amotenpanpolinaqui* and *amo motenpanvillanj* are intended.
22. *Chachalacatoque* in the *Real Palacio* MS.